A section of the Āl Yamāni of the Āl Tamim then fought with the Ar Rashid and finally occupied Tarim in A.H. 745 (A.D. 1344), after taking and losing it many times. They then ruled in Tarim and over the neighbouring country, while at this period the Saberāt tribe were ruling in Tarba, Būr, and Al Hasīsa, and the Nahd tribe were ruling over Shibam and the neighbouring country, so that the Hadhramaut was then divided under three ruling tribes, the Tamimi, the Saberāt, and the Nahd. This continued until A.H. 894 (A.D. 1489) when the Kathīris began to rise to power.[1] 175

CHAPTER IV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN HADHRAMAUT.

1. The Rise of the Kathīris.

The Kathīris originated from Dhufar[2] where they were Sultans. They had been living in the Hadhramaut but were of little importance and had no name given to them until they began to make themselves felt. In this year, 894 (A.D. 1489). Sultan 'Abdulla bin Ja'fer al Kathīr became Governor of Shihr (he was the man from whom the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīri took their name), but he did not live long and in 910 A.H. (A.D. 1504) was succeeded by his son Bedr Bu Tuweirak bin 'Abdulla'[3] who reigned for sixty years and was well known in and out of the Hadhramaut. But the [174]

[1] The next item of information in chronological order is given by Al Khazraji In the month of Rabi'l 'Awal A.H. 768 (A.D. 1366–7) Melik Mudhaffer, son of Sultan Melik Mujāhid of the Rasuli dynasty, and the son of the Yemenite ('Ibnu'l-Yemaniyy) went against Shihr; but the lord thereof went out to meet them with his forces, when they were defeated and returned frustrated in the month of Jumad al 'Awal in this year 768 (January, 1367) .... The 'Amir Sārimu'd Dīn Dāu'd son of Musa son of Hanajir was appointed Governor of Shahr.

[2] The origin of the suggested connection of Dhufar with the Hadhramaut is sufficiently indicated above, but according to Miles (Vol. II, p. 515) the Kathīris came from the Hadhramaut at the close of the eighth century and invaded Dhufar. Hirsch says that 10,000 of the Kathīri came from the neighbourhood of San'ā about A.D. 1494. See also the Genealogy of the Kathīris in an Appendix.

[3] This famous Kathīri leader was born in A.H. 902 (A.D. 1497). His pedigree was bin 'Abdulla bin Ja'fer bin 'Abdulla bin 'Ali bin 'Umar. Miles states "The Shaikh Bedr, who is usually spoken of by the Katheeris as Bedr-ba-Towarek, is said to have been Mucoadam of Seyoon. He became Lord of Hadhramaut and Dhofar and extended his conquests as far east as Ras Sherbetat. It must be observed that Carter (H. J. Carter, Trans. Bombay As. Soc., 2845, 1847, 1851) makes no mention of Bedr, but was informed that the founder of the Katheeri Dynasty was Ali bin Omar al-Katheeri. Subsequently the Katheeris appear to have been overpowered by others, but ultimately regained supremacy, which they have maintained throughout the vicissitudes of successive years to the present day."

Further, Miles states, in connection with the geography of Dhufar, that the inhabitants of the plain mostly belong to the Kathīri tribe, who, with varying fortunes, have remained the predominant tribe in the plain ever since their invasion of Dhufar in the beginning of the ninth century of the Hejira. They are, he says, always at feud with the Qarra, by whom they are often attacked and harassed. The Kathīris, he states, are in two divisions, the 'Umar bin Kathīr and the 'Āmr bin Kathīr, both of which are represented in Dhufar, where they may number 2,500, occupying seven villages. He also mentions Dareez as having been once the capital of the Kathīris.

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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TRIBES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

By MAJOR THE HON. R. A. B. HAMILTON

Lecture given on September 23, 1942, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Hamilton is a Political Officer, following in the great tradition. He knows the needs and the minds of his Arabs, and he also will tell us, and indeed emphasize, what a Political Officer should know before he goes among them.

At the same time the Council feels that this tribal question stretches far beyond Southern Arabia into India, Africa and other parts of the British Empire. This, therefore, is the first of several lectures on backward tribes. We hope very much to get as much information as we can on this subject, and we trust that Political Officers who are not able to come to these lectures will give us the benefit of their experience in writing, so that we may put their views in the Journal. Naturally one's inclination is to hedge round these tribes, if it were possible, but there is no question that as time goes on they must be fitted in to the civilized world. The study of their ancient social organizations and of their heritage is absolutely necessary, so that, if it is possible to collect as much information as is available, we may perhaps induce the powers that be to take a line which will protect them from exploitation by civilization, by big business, and possibly by their more advanced neighbours.

THE organization of the social classes in the small area of the Aden Protectorate is complicated. Few people have given much thought to it, and those who have, have usually erred in accepting generalizations.

In the organization one may still trace the ancient divisions of the territory as it was some two thousand or more years ago. It was then divided into four main states, which we can call kingdoms: that of Saba, which is supposed to be the ancient Sheba, in the Yemen; Qataba in south-east Yemen; Ma'an, a confederation ruled by the "Grand Council," between Eastern Yemen and Hadhramaut; and the kingdom of Hadhramaut.

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM Hadhramaut MM2

To-day the territory is occupied by the descendants of the ancient people and split into many independent tribes. These tribes are all endogamous and are markedly distinct in appearance. But scientifically it would be difficult to name the distinctions, as they are all of the same race type. There is, however, a sufficiently marked distinction between the two main types to attract the attention of the casual, but interested, visitor to the country. These types are to be distinguished by their own local names, the Yemeni and the Mushreqi, the latter name coming from the ill-defined district of the Mushreq, which applies to the territories east of Yemen proper and does not include the tribes east of the Kathiri of Wadi Hadhramaut.

The Yemeni type are those bearing Sabaean names and Qatabanian names. These remain to be classified from names in inscriptions. It is sufficient to quote such names as Yafa', Qateib and Beni Saba.

Yafa' was the name of an ancient tribal deity, the centre of whose worship seems to have been the ruin of Am'Adia, in what is now the territory of the Audhali confederation, a very recent confederation of tribes. Yafa''s followers had a mausoleum at the holy city of Shabwa. They are now represented by the tribe of Yafa', one of the most eastern of the Yemeni tribes.

Qateib is the diminutive of Qatab, and we may translate it as the "remnant of Qatab." The present Qateibi tribes—"the wolves of Radfan," as they style themselves—form the centre of the war-like Ja'ud confederacy some sixty miles north-east of Aden; Beni Saba, Beni Himyar, etc., need no explanation. The Mushreq type bear un-Yemeni names. The centre of the whole type is the 'Aulaqi confederation. The word "'Aulaqi" is derived from "'alq," the spark of a camp-fire, and has little interest. But the confederation is ruled by the tribe of Ma'an and the "Grand Council of Ma'an" is called to this day when any one of the three chiefs of the confederation is to be elected. Of this type are all tribes east of the Yafa'i border and of the Eastern Yemen plateau.

In colour of skin, a light chocolate-brown, and in hair, both types are very similar, but there the similarity ends. In features, as in dress and in many customs which do not concern my subject, they are distinct from one another.

The tribesman class is the aristocratic, landowning class, and has been so for many centuries. They form 70 per cent. of the total population of the territory. All inter-tribal politics emanate from them. They form the background of the community's life. I have mentioned this class first for several reasons, but principally because we are used to a landowning aristocracy being in a minority. Here they form the majority. Having been for so many years controllers of their own destinies, the one landowning, fighting class and by far the most powerful class in the community, their insistence upon their rights to-day is understandable.

The tribal Chiefs are in three main categories—the appointed Suzerain, the accepted Suzerain and the elected hereditary tribal Chief. It will be simplest to deal with these three types of Chief in turn, giving examples of each.

In the first type, the appointed Suzerains, we can take as examples H.H. the Sultan of Lahej and the Amir of Dhala'.

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YEMEN ML 1

they are a race apart and are much respected, frequently attaining positions of high rank. A man will trust his slave before his brother. Tribesmen will eat with a slave when the slave has attained a position of eminence, such as governor of a village or commander of a post, but never with a Doshan or with a Heiq. A Chief's responsibility for his slaves is a very real one, and should he sell a slave or part with one he will be considered to have committed a shame. The slaves that I have met in the territory upheld the reputation slaves have always had for loyalty and courage.

We next come to two curious races, the Akhdam and the Hajur. I am satisfied that these are quite separate races, although there are a few instances of intermarriage in the major settlements. Akhdam is the plural of Khadim, which means "servant." This race is of African origin, but I can make no guess at the date at which they came to Arabia. Whenever it was, they appear to have left no relations or traces behind them in Africa. Their main settlement is at Zabid in the Western Yemen. They are of the Shafa'i sect, but practise witchcraft, make phalli and hold snakes and snake-charmers in great respect. In appearance they are small and their skin is a dull dark brown, not a glossy East African black. The only race in the country which will do filthy work, the Akhdam are in great demand and are employed as sweepers. They have their own headman in their small communities, successful wizards appointing themselves to the post without election.

The second foreign race is the Hajur. They appear to be South-west Abyssinians and are very like the Galla. Like the Akhdam, they have long ago lost any linguistic connection with Africa and speak Arabic. They are hardy and well-built and live in grass-hut settlements on the coastal belt between Lahej and Abyan. Some, on occasion, bear arms, but they are on the whole un-warlike and seek casual labour at harvest time. The 'Abdali tribes of Lajeh have intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and for this reason the 'Abdalis are darker than most coast Arabs and many villages in their territory are occupied by settled Hajur. In a few generations the Hajur and the 'Abdali will be indistinguishable, and I think this mingling of the two races must be very recent, and probably began during or just before the Turkish occupation of Lahej in 1916.

East of Aden, for some hundred miles, the coastal fishing communities are of Hajur or mixed Hajur stock. They elect their headmen as the Arabs do and are of the Shafa'i sect, but, like the Akhdam, they incline towards witchcraft and phallic worship. The observant traveller on the Lahej road will see plenty of evidence for this close to their settlements.

It is possible that these two African races came to Arabia during the second and third centuries A.D. as camp-followers to Abyssinian armies. But this is pure conjecture.

Finally, we come to the Jews. Jewish settlements exist all over the Protectorate. The principal settlement is in San'a, and all Jews of South Arabia claim inter-relationship and have many family connections in Palestine. They claim to be descended from the Jews of Kheybar. It is more probable, however, that the original Yemeni Jews are of South Arab race. Before the rise of Islam the people of South-west Arabia were

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But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat. 000

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west. 142

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration. 778

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting. 181 291 576

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy. 619 631 643

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it. [144]

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe. 576

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the 101 174 619

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101 174 619

remnant of the Minæan State. Dr. Scott asked whether the names MA'AN and MA'IN were from the same root. He remarked that the ruins of Ma'in lie in the district of Jauf, roughly seventy to a hundred miles north-east of San'a, and that Ma'in and other remains in the vicinity had been regarded as the centre of Minæan culture. If this were so, the descendants of the Minæans are now a long way south-east of their ancient centre. He was particularly interested in this question because it seemed to him, when summarizing recently such information as is available on the pre-Islamic states of South-West Arabia, that there had been a tendency for states or kingdoms to move in succession in a southerly direction, either under pressure of invaders from the north or in search of better, less arid, country.

Major HAMILTON replied (in writing) that, while it would be risky to attempt too positive an answer in the present state of knowledge, his views were as follows:

"The names MA'AN and MA'IN are from the same root and, I fancy, refer to the same people. The name of the Transjordanian district of Ma'an, near Medāin Sālih, is the same word. I think you are certainly right in supposing that the trend of all peoples in the peninsula has been from north to south, whether in search of better land or—which seems more likely—because of pressure from the north.

"The rise of Saba will have been at the expense of other kingdoms, and I think the assumption is justified that the Sabæans forced Ma'an out of Jauf and also out of the district of Wadi Harib, near Beihan, from which several inscriptions referring to the 'Grand Council of Ma'an' have been collected; and that the remnant of the Minæans, if any, is to be found south and east of their original place. They could not have gone south-west because, by the time Saba became powerful, Qataba appears to have held the south-western spurs of the Yemen mountains and to have owned both Harib and Beihan. My own opinion, on the existing evidence only of modern tribal names and distribution, is that Ma'an was swamped by later rivals and is earlier than the other kingdoms. It is interesting that the name Ma'an is borne by the central tribe of a confederation with such marked peculiarities as the 'Aulaqi, in just the place where one would expect to find it. I think, therefore, that these Ma'ani 'Aulaqis are the remnant of the Minæan State forced from Jauf, and perhaps from further north, by the rise and the southward march of more powerful neighbours, and that they were eventually swamped in the struggles for the important 'Beihan Triangle.'"

Major Hamilton expressed the hope that the map accompanying his lecture entitled "Six Weeks in Shabwa," to be published shortly in the *Geographical Journal*, would show the very great local importance of that little triangle of territory (since published in Vol. 100, No. 3, September, 1942, pp. 107-123).

From the above it seems that Major Hamilton's views are in accordance with the usually accepted chronology—namely, that the Minæans were the oldest of the South-West Arabian kingdoms named, and were succeeded (but not entirely obliterated) by Saba and Qataba. These two were in part contemporaneous. (Later, Himyar became predominant.) It also appears that Major Hamilton considers the movement of peoples to have been from

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

north to south, not only in South-West Arabia, but in the peninsula as a whole. Incidentally, while the name MA'AN is not given on some maps, it is printed on the folding map at the end of Wyman Bury's *Land of Uz* (1911). It is there placed just above the eastern end of the Qaur ranges and below the words "Upper 'Aulaqi."

The CHAIRMAN: What a remarkable experiment in Empire building has been exposed to us this afternoon. The thought that is uppermost in my mind is how absolutely essential it is that not only we should have very carefully selected Political Officers to carry on this experiment, but that they should be most carefully instructed in what they have to expect before they take up their duties. That seems to me to be of the utmost importance.

You will agree, I know, that we have had a most happy and fortunate send-off to the beginning of our tribal lectures. Indeed, Mr. Hamilton, we were more than happy and lucky to have you. Then, too, we had Sir Bernard Reilly with his great experience, both of them masters of their subject. We thank you too, Sir Bernard, for what you have told us.

May I ask you now to thank Mr. Hamilton most sincerely for his admirable lecture.

A demand for this lecture, together with the discussion, has led to this reprint.

YEMENMLI

THE NAME IS THE NAME OF A PAGAN DEITY AND IN THE ABSENCE,

Y 101 174 778 622 of histories, we may take it that the confederation is pre-Islamic in date. Apart from the name, the only other obviously pre-Islamic possession of the tribe is the sacred drum, the "Tabble an Nahas," which is kept by the Beni Qasid and which is accorded sacred honours by the tribe of Yafa' only. It is possible that before Islam the Beni Qasid were the keepers of the drum, and I am going to suggest that the present Sultans of Yafa' are in reality Priest-Chiefs, whose functions as such have ceased with the introduction of a new religion, although their hereditary position remains as heads of the people who once worshipped Yafa'.

H 101 619 622 Let us examine another confederation of tribes. About sixty miles north of Aden live the Qateibi tribe, surrounded by the confederation of the Ja'ud. At first sight the tribes here seem to be disorganized and unrelated, but careful study of dialect, of local stories, of the Qasidas or epic poems, and of such things as star lore and magical beliefs, shows that these tribes are closely allied in thought, dialect and custom and form a true confederation, the organization of which becomes clear in times of danger. Of this confederation the Qateibi are the central tribe, and their sheikhly family is the Akhram, from which the Qateibi Sheikh is elected. As was shown in 1904, a Qateibi Sheikh with a strong personality can have considerable influence on the whole confederation, but he is not expected to rule, as we understand the word, even within his own family.

H 619 [623] ● 174 622 With the strong 'Aulaqi Confederation we find a more complicated organization, but a similar one. Ma'an is here the central tribe, in all probability the ancient Ma'an of the inscriptions, a pre-Sabian kingdom of South Arabia. Ancient Ma'an was ruled by a "Grand Council," as we find from the inscriptions, and this system still exists to-day.

The 'Aulaqi Confederation is divided into three parts—the Upper and Lower sub-Confederations of attached tribes and the tribe of Ma'an—and each of these three is ruled by a Chief of the tribe of Ma'an, elected by Ma'an only. Again we have the sheikhly family within the central tribe, surrounded by the attached tribes of the confederation. Again the name, *but this time it is the name of the central tribe, is pre-Islamic.* If we look [670] for further proof that the confederation is of pre-Islamic origin, we find an ancient legal system—that of the Manaqid, which I have already described—strongly attached to it.

H 619 We could continue to find examples of the organization from other confederations, but these three will suffice. The basis of the organization is clear: there is a central tribe containing a sheikhly family, forming the centre of a confederation of tribes.

H 174 Y 643 How did such an organization evolve? How is it that Chiefs, elected according to ancient custom, are not expected to rule their electors? What is the origin of such Chiefs, and of the sheikhly families from which they come? Our answers must be mainly guesswork, but we may well begin by seeing some of the conditions under which an Imam of Sana'a is elected, for I think they point the way to our understanding of the whole problem.

The first condition is that the Imam must be whole in body. No Imam may be elected if he limps, is blind in one or both eyes, has a stammer, squints, is a leper or has any other physical disabilities. If, once

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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elected Imam, he goes outside the acknowledged boundaries of his kingdom (the present Imam acknowledges no boundaries, nor have any of his predecessors) he ceases to be Imam, and a new Imam must be elected. The Imam is usually elected during the lifetime of his predecessor, so that when one dies the country is not without an Imam.

Now all these conditions are those pertaining to divine Kings. There is little doubt that they are ancient pre-Islamic conditions, and it is possible that they are taken from the conditions under which the Tobbas of Himyar became King and which governed the ancient kingship of Sheba. Some inscriptions made by the Tobbas, who ruled over Axum in Abyssinia, as well as Saba and Eastern Yemen, are countersigned, as it were, by a Minister who styles himself " The Sacrifice "—in itself a very significant title. These conditions must have been accepted by the Persian and Abyssinian rulers of the Yemen, and both they and subsequent rulers must have thought it as well to assume the kingship in its ancient form.

In the same way as the Imam is elected and proclaimed, so under him each confederation elects its Chiefs and petty Chiefs within their tribes and families. The central tribes elect their Chiefs, who become the heads of confederations, and each tribe elects its leaders within itself; only in the case of the smaller units, from the confederation downwards, there appear to be no such conditions as I have mentioned regarding the Imamate. All these Chiefs are figureheads who can exert a strong influence but who are not expected to rule.

The scene thus represented is one of the greatest interest to anthropologists and to sociologists. It is a stage in the development of nations. Before the formation of kingdoms and before Islam, Arabia was a land of many gods. Each of these gods was the particular god of a tribe, and his worship was in the hands of a priestly tribe who elected a Priest-Chief. He was, as it were, a divine Chief, and doubtless it was his main duty to ensure fertility, which entails all the priestly functions of bringing rain, guarding against disease and supervising agriculture. Both the magic and the custom were higher than him. He could not change either but was himself ruled by both. In inter-tribal disputes he spoke for the tribe and not for himself as ruler of the tribe. When Islam came, the tribal god vanished, but the Priest-Chief was left as a figurehead, with a vague aura of holiness but with nevertheless a considerable loss of his power, which was never very great. This is the position of the elected hereditary Chief in the Aden Protectorate to-day.

It is obvious that such Chiefs cannot be expected to rule their confederations and tribes unless they obtain military power. For the most part they are reluctant to do this. At one time it was the policy of the Government to give arms and ammunition to the Chiefs so as to strengthen their hands against their more unruly tribesmen. The hereditary elected Chiefs, however, did not respond to this policy as they were supposed to do, but gave the arms away to brigands in the form of bribes. The Suzerains avidly accepted these presents from the Government, for they understood rule as we do, and have held their positions through this understanding. This, by contrast between the two types of Chief, throws a strong light on the accepted position of the hereditary Chiefs. There is,

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

342 552 174 212 In Tarīm many houses belonging to the wealthy saiyids seem to have a name chosen by the owner, and Sāiyid 'Umar b. Šaiḫ Āl Kāf, our neighbour in Tarīm, called his house al-'Iššah, or 'the nest', but others seem to be called after the name ot the locality, or as the Ḥaḍramī says, after the name of the well, such as the house Ḥamṭūṭ, our neighbour to the east. Houses in Tarīm often have chronograms over the door, generally some pious phrase, worked in the plaster and painted. In Šibām the Maṣna'ah or fort has inscriptions, including dates, in the woodwork. I am convinced that herein lies the explanation of why so very few pre-Islamic and early Islamic inscriptions have been found in Ḥaḍramawt. On dams, on buildings, even in the mosques, the inscriptions which today record the foundation, or repairs effected to a construction, are all drawn in the plaster. The only two Kufic inscriptions I saw in Ḥaḍramawt were on the grave-stones at Ḳabr Nabī Allāh Hūd, and the strange shrine of Mawlā Maṭar. Pre-Islamic stone inscriptions will of course be discovered when excavation is made in the mud mounds which represent the ancient towns and villages of the country.

782 342 The sacrificial rites described here are probably general to South-West Arabia. (In the Ṣubaiḥī village of Am-Fadjarah, west of Aden I came across very similar practices. A ewe (ganamah) was slaughtered at the foundation (sās). In the space under the stairs called ḳuṭb, when it was made, another was slaughtered, and on completion of the building a third ewe, called the iklīl or 'crown', was also immolated. As the occupier of the house in question I was asked to defray the cost of these. This is some hundreds of miles from Ḥaḍramawt.) Comparisons with ritual in the ancient world may be made by scholars.

463 342 According to my early notes in Tarīm, every craft seems to have different categories of workmen, perhaps graded, but I did not explore this possibility. A fully trained craftsman is called a mu'allim, and if you want to have a house built, you go to the mu'allim. Tarīm once had fifty to sixty mu'allims, but now (1947) there are probably only about thirty. Other categories are, the musawwis who builds the dry stone foundation of your house, and the bānī who builds with the clay bricks (madar) and clay (ṭīn). A bānī in Ḥaḍramawt is also a potter (syn. in Yemen, maddār). I heard of an architect in Tarīm who bore the name 'Umar Ya'mur

THE QUARTERS OF TARĪM
AND THEIR TANṢŪRAHS

621 361 Like Šiḥr and Mukallā, the city of Tarīm is divided into a number of quarters. I have already given the names of the quarters in Šiḥr elsewhere[1], and those of Mukallā are marked on H. von Wissmann's map[2] where Hafd el-'Abī should be corrected to [567] Ḥāfat al-'Abīd, i.e. the quarter of the Slaves. It may be recalled that when W. H. Ingrams arrived in Ḥaḍramawt these slaves were very powerful indeed just as they were amongst the Rwala chiefs[3] of N. Arabia. As in Mecca, the city quarters form an important part of the social structure of the community, and they have their own peculiar organisation upon which I have remarked previously[4]. [174] There seems to be evidence from the inscriptions that cities in South Arabia, sometimes at least, were split up into quarters [161] before Islam. In Tarīm there are no less than eleven quarters, though, as will be seen, only five of them are really independent, but even this is a large number for a city of approximately 15,000 inhabitants.

621 361 104 The five quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Sūk, Ḥārat al-Ḥilaīl, Ḥārat al-Saḥīl, Ḥārat al-Nuwaidarah, and Ḥārat al-Ḥāwī. Of these the largest is Ḥārat al-Sūk. A saḥīl is a strip of land underneath a mountain, and including the mountain-side up to the base of the perpendicular Djol cliff[5], a word of frequent occurence. The town of Šibām which is not sub-divided into quarters, has a suburb

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[1] *Materials for South Arabian History* I, Bull. School of Oriental & African Studies (London, 1950), XIII, II, p. 296.

[2] D. Van der Meulen & H. v. Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden, 1932).

[3] Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (New York, 1928), index *Slaves*.

[4] *The Cemeteries of Tarīm*, Le Muséon, LXII, 1-2, p. 159.

[5] For the peculiar cliff formation of Wādī sides, see *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled*.

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

By Bertram Thomas, O.B.E.

[With Plates XI and XII.]

Introduction.

I have already been privileged to contribute a paper to the *Journal*.[1] "Among some unknown Tribes of South Arabia" was published after my first journey in those parts in January–February, 1928. Since then I have made two more visits to the Central South and have continued my investigations. On the last occasion I took head callipers, a small cinema camera and a still camera with me. I made some forty-five head measurements and took full-face and profile portraits of the various types I measured.

Curious Tribes.

In my previous paper I said that there was a *bloc* of tribes in the Central South that I believed to be non-Arab remainders, tribes at least who were physically, culturally, linguistically distinguishable from the familiar tall and hawk-faced Arab of the North. I am confirmed in that view. After an experience of fifteen years' service in Arabia, living on close terms of intimacy with its people in Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordan and the Persian Gulf, I am struck by the peculiarities of the inhabitants of the Central South. The Sultan of Muscat shared that opinion. I was not consciously aware at the time of the speculations of Richard Burton which also support it. That Arabian traveller had written in the middle of the last century (vide "Pilgrimage to Al Medina and Mecca")—

> "I was desirous to try by actual observation the truth of a theory proposed by Colonel Sykes, namely, that if tradition be true in the population of the vast peninsula there must exist certain physiological differences sufficient to warrant our questioning the common origin of the Arab family." . . . And later . . . "I have found proof . . . for believing in three distinct races, (1) the aborigines, driven into the Eastern and South-Eastern wilds, (2) a Syrian or Mesopotamian Stock that drove the indigenes from the choicest tracts of country . . . (3) an impure Syro-Egyptian clan . . ."

Before passing to a consideration of these strange tribes I lived amongst, it is necessary to say something about the land in which they live. The south coast of Arabia west of long. 53° (Ras Nus) is very mountainous and very wild. It is a natural asylum for early races driven before invaders. At Dhufar in the Central South, these mountains form a crescent-shaped arm which encloses a prosperous and fertile plain. To the westward the mountains form an

[1] Vol. lix, 1929, January to June, p. 97.

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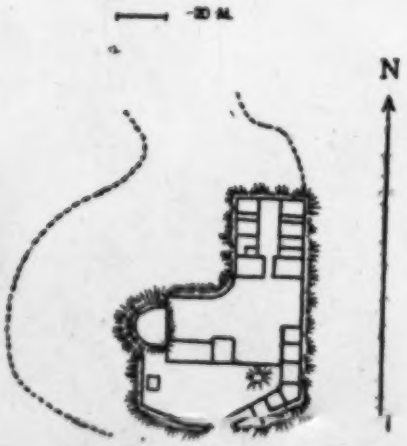
172 our will we turn our backs on el-Mekēnūn and follow our guide into Wādī Sekhōre. In the distance we can already see, rising upon a precipitous, high hill, the remains of what must once have been a fortress. The position points to this and has much in common with that of the ruins of the castle at el-ʿUrr, which stand on a similar hill rising out of the main wādī, only half an hour's walk westwards.



RUINS OF EL-MEKĒNŪN.

Ḥuṣn Thōbe is the name of the ruined castle at the mouth of Wādī Sekhōre. The steep slopes of the huge rock, which is nearly 300 feet high, are covered with débris. At its foot there is a well, at the top we find fairly high remains of walls, but no inscriptions.

●174 The scarcity of inscriptions found here, in contrast with the multiplicity of those found in the mountainous land of the Yemen, is explicable if we look upon Ḥaḍramaut as the borderland of the Sabaean and Minaean Kingdoms. Professor J. H. Mordtmann of Berlin, who studied and deciphered the inscriptions that we brought home, is of opinion that the people of

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Ḥaḍramaut were famed for their warlike qualities at a quite early period. According to him, mention is made of the country and its kings in the most ancient Sabaean inscriptions, and again in the later texts. A great deal is told about wars with Ḥaḍramaut. There are no data which suggest that the Ḥaḍramīs were ever subdued by their neighbours, the Sabaeans and Minaeans. In the time of the Alexandrian scholars

RUINS OF THE ANCIENT ḤUṢN THŌBE.

they had a separate kingdom; this is unanimously and credibly reported. They had their national God, Sīn, just as the Minaeans had ʿAthtar, the Sabaeans Ilmaqah, and the people of Qatabān, ʿAmm and Anbay. So also they preserved their own dialect until as late as the sixth century of our era.

In any case, there would seem to have been many wars, and the castles of Thōbe and el-ʿUrr have, unquestionably, been military fortifications; this points to the country having

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been the borderland of two kingdoms, which naturally would not be the most favourable place for setting up inscriptions. Frontier defences are never centres of culture. Furthermore the stone here is not favourable for incising: it is too brittle. All the texts deciphered for us by Mordtmann are votary inscriptions (proskynemas) to the national god, Sīn.

From Ḥuṣn Thōbe we walked back to the main wādī, in whose midst, on a great lonely rock, remains of the walls of Ḥuṣn el-ʿUrr still rise to a considerable height. We met the caravan here and, uniting our forces, tried to get at a piece of cut stone that was cemented into the upper part of the remains of the walls. After much effort we succeeded. It turned out that we had detached a capital of whitish sandstone, particularly well-hewn on its four planes. The capital was too heavy for transport on our camels, so Von Wissmann made the drawing reproduced here.[1] The skill of the artist who, in ancient times, made this head of a column is clearly shown in the undamaged portions. The sculptor seems to have depicted hunting scenes. Mounted men fighting with lions are represented on one plane; on another are very good reproductions of the ibex (*wʿl*), an animal which plays a great part in the folklore of Ḥaḍramaut. The *wʿl* hunt is still the favourite sport of the Ḥaḍramīs, although strongly disapproved of by their religious leaders on account of the ceremonies of evidently heathen origin accompanying it. The heavy, notched horns of the ibex, gracefully bending backwards, are, up to this day, to be found as trophies decorating the façade of many a house in Ḥaḍramaut.

The smaller hewn stone that we had found in the ruins on the outward journey was dug up again. This stone, flat and of the same white sandstone as the capital, appeared to bear on front and back an identical sculpture, representing a bunch of grapes with a few leaves, a motive that also occurs here and there on the decorated surfaces of the capital. We wished to take this stone with us to Terim as an addition

[1] See p. 178.